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Conventional Morality

SIXTEEN YEARS of Democratic majority make a fine whipping-boy, and the Republicans in Philadelphia have obviously been having lots of good (but hardly clean) fun. This year has set a record for motes and beams no less than for rain; and whilst much of the mud may be chalked up to campaign oratory, some of it sticks, and some stinks. Walter Lippmann's serious attack on the Republican bosses, the Martin-Taber-Allen-Halleck junta, as he calls them, on the opening day of the Convention, was pointed up by Col. McCormick's "king-making" bid for a Taft-Stassen combination, which would seem to have blotted the copybook of the literate liberals' whiteheaded boy. The President's attack on Congress was perhaps the most ill advised of all the actions of the "unfortunate man in the White House," as Mrs. Luce so rightly called him. But to blame the Democrats for all the ills that have beset the world in the past sixteen years is too easy a *post hoc, propter hoc* argument: and may, in time, recoil. Mr. Churchill's

sodden sneers at the Labor Party were of distinct comfort to them, and materially assisted their unexpectedly overwhelming victory. The Philadelphia Republicans were choosing the next President, and were triumphantly aware of the fact, but Mrs. Luce appears to have, with her wit, best indicated the crying need for wisdom. In attacking the Democratic Party's Gallic divisions—the Jim Crow and Moscow Wings centered by the Prendergast machine—she pointed out the tremendous danger of thinking foul means could ever win fair ends. Russia wants a high standard of living for the workers, social justice, the end of proletarianism, and international peace—let us go along with Russia, says Wallace; the Southern Democrats are anti-Communist, let us overlook their record on racial discrimination, others cry. But, the Republican elephant also has wings, if it has not yet flown, and there is considerable speculation, to say the least, as to whether the Martin-Bricker right, the Stassen left, or the Dewey-Vandenberg-Luce center will prevail after November.

The record of the two-year-old Republican Congress is there for all to see: great international statesmanship, the passing of the Marshall Plan and the financing of it, balanced by such cheese paring bad-manners as the shelving of the UN building appropriation, the jettisoning of the President's civil rights bill, even in its emasculated form, and the shelving of the Taft-Ellender housing bill, the prepaid Government health insurance bill, and several GI bills, not to speak of the mincing of military rearmament.. It is true the Republicans have a plethora of Presidential timber, but the best-known and best-loved figure in America is not a Republican, and whether he will show himself publicly as a Democrat depends on the Republicans.

Pyaru, the South Indian mahout of Eva, the Taft elephant, is said to have been completely bewildered by Convention procedure. Blondes in swimming suits, free nylons and cosmetic kits, corncob pipes and cokes are all part of the fun. The Foreign Policy platform adopted in the full face of whatever isolationists are left, is promise of a good end indeed; it is devoutly to be hoped that the dollars and cents, which are their urgent and immediate means, will be provided.

Tabloid

ON PAGE 279 we publish a story about a young man, a girl and a newspaper. The young man likes the girl and does not like the newspaper. The author—as every good author must—likes all his characters, the streets in which they walk, the clothes they wear, and when there is a newspaper in the story he likes it too, whether it is a good paper or a bad paper, simply because it is in the picture, and what he is looking at is a pic-

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ture which he is trying to make a moving picture. That is the way the artist works. There is an imaginary newspaper in this story and the young man in the story says that it is a very bad paper and that it does harm to anyone who reads it. That is his opinion; it may be the author's opinion but that is nobody's business but his own.

We cannot argue with the young man because the young man starts and ends in the story, and we cannot reach him outside the story. He has said all he wanted to say and now he cannot say anything more and he cannot argue with us. So we are not arguing with anyone and all we want to say is that the imaginary tabloid the young man dislikes reminds us a great deal of the real tabloid that we read every night of the week.

Like the tabloid in the story, the real one has a great number of photographs of people who have had accidents or have been murdered or have been married for a hundred years or have been abandoned in the park at the age of twenty-four hours or have just been elected boy scout of the year or have just been knocked out in the prize ring. Every day it has these pictures and it is all very well to put them into categories, and then ask whether it is important or useful or harmful to see them, but the question also might be put: what happens if you never see them?

It may be possible to get from home to the office and back again without witnessing a holdup, a rape, a murder, or a suicide. We have been lucky for years. But for years, also, even the respectable morning papers have informed us that we live in a city where all sorts of human misery is breaking out in some final act of violence day after day, and it is a question whether knowing this in the abstract is quite enough. Is our compassion certain to answer to statistics?

When we read that a girl jumps or falls from a skyscraper and is killed, is that quite the same as when we see her, in the tabloids, stretched so calmly, underanged, un mutilated, on the roof of the automobile on which she fell? When we read about the murderer, is it quite the same as when we see him, in the tabloids, and he does not look like a murderer but like anybody else? Are we so sure that we can think of the human being involved in the news accounts unless we see the face of the human being? Are we so sure of our compassion that we can live always in absence, always protected from the direct view of man's anguish?

If we spent our days visiting the sick, clothing the poor, working for justice, we would not need the tabloids, we would be ourselves in the heart of suffering. But this we do not do and the great cities largely protect us from such knowledge; and there are all the official agencies to deal with crime and the poor so that it is possible for us not to know, not to be offended, and, consequently, not to care. The respectable newspapers do not

force us to know, do not force us to care. That is the function of the tabloids. They go where proper persons do not venture; they look at things which we would prefer not to see.

The Third Strike

A BARE and logical, an almost mathematical expression of what the "Third Force" is, got into the record during the French Parliamentary debates on the organization of Western Germany. Guy Mollet, secretary of the French Socialist Party, with the MRP one of the two major constituents of the present French Government, is the authority—and who is in a better position to define the "Third Force" definitively? The *New York Times* reports he "deplored that Communists were forcing the French to choose between the Soviet Union and the United States."

"French Socialists refuse to choose between the Soviet Union and the United States," he asserted. "They are convinced that war can be avoided just as the Third Force is preventing the DeGaullists and Communists from coming to blows in France."

This statement, with its traditional French clarity, seems to me designed to stop an American absolutely cold. The natural secondary reaction, after interval for double take and for considering the vast insolence and implication of M. Mollet's proposition, is inarticulate frothing. But then one must try to be civilized and logical and to love everybody. First, our enemies the Russians: we sympathize with the way they, as we, after a long history, and a bitter period when Germany was being prepared so that the French could debate Germany's disposition, are now dismissed as bad children from the company of our betters, leaving, as it happens, several million dead behind, and the Americans, twenty-nine billion dollars' worth of brand new ERP toys. Then one must congratulate General De Gaulle, who rarely has had such a sympathetic advertisement in the United States.

(1) I deplore sin, but consider it perilous to act as though sin were not there (and here). The French Socialists live fairly far West, dangerously close, we seem to be told, to those rough Americans; but they need not look very far East (or very deep within their own society) to see that one of the points about Communists is just exactly that they do force an unwilling body to choose. The argument against pretending not to choose now is that Mr. Trotsky's warning will overtake you, and you will be kicked into the dustbin of history; or else you will be jockeyed into the position of positively preserving the balance, and in fact, however reluctantly, sustaining one of those competing forces you claim to be deploring, in order to keep your key position

in the middle. The Third Force thus has to meet the suspicion of condoning communism, of complicity in protecting and cultivating its vigor, in order to try to sustain a counterbalance to "America," so that they can be arbiter (and in office). Obviously, there is another suspicion that goes with that one, that the Third Forcers may be overestimating their adroitness and strength in manipulating the crude dialectic of history. Communism has not shown itself something which liberals can exploit, join in united front efforts, and then safely repudiate.

(2) Two sentimental reasons are most frequently given by those amazing American liberals who, for some odd psychological reason, with no sense of treason, praise the efforts of European Socialists to keep from choosing "between the Soviet Union and the United States." One reason is because the European Third Forcers are supposed to be acting largely out of fear of war and hope of keeping their lands from again becoming a battlefield. But what is the condition of a people under the sway of Soviet communism? And what is it you don't like about war? Soviet communism *means* the evils which lucky people of the West associate innocently with war: perhaps a little less direct and outright destruction of real estate, but worse destruction of morale and a more utter and terroristic attack on the very roots and springs of the Grace that makes life worth living and death worth avoiding. Prison, slave labor, sudden death, the splitting of families and friends and lovers, the dragooning of all elements of culture, secret police, elimination of legal protections, tearing down the means and methods of production and distribution, the forced conscience, the persistent, long-range and basic attack on prayer and worship and recognition of God—these are not dramatically better, nor 100 percent different than the evils of war. Fear is a poor impulse to govern policy, and fears can so easily be matched. Another reason why some liberal Americans applaud the balancing act of the Third Force is because they sometimes feel that Soviet communism is underneath it all, after its fashion, aiming at the goods for the people which are proper to desire. That is a metaphysical and a practical question answered many times. The communism of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, that is the official and motivating and documented world outlook of Soviet communism, is a twisted and perverted materialism whose objectives and ends are not the good of persons in this or a later generation, by any other standard, and most flagrantly not by humanist standards of the West, or by the standards of Christianity. Furthermore, the avowed ends of Soviet communism, some of which incidentally are of course splendid (from each and to each and all that), are beside the question because the means used and advocated

corrupt the ends and make them disappear into an unreal propaganda myth with no relation to the actual character of the movement. If communism is going your way, you may call yourself a Third Forcer, but in effect you are a fellow traveler.

(3) The Third Force picture of "the United States" is untrue. The necessary implication of their propaganda is that the United States means a system and movement and force towards the most hideously reactionary society of robber barons and industrial serfs, a pure and super-individualistic system of imperialistic capitalism, based on irresponsible exploitation by irresponsible private enterprisers. We are supposed to make up the abstract Right Wing, in the way that Soviet communism makes up the Left. All that is not a picture of real life, and acting as though it were will get the Third Force nowhere but into a further stage of lunacy. Correctly, the great majority of people who tend to think of themselves as a third force, belong with and are included in what M. Mollet abstractly names "the United States." Not under the US Government or in the American State, naturally and certainly; but in the same effort of civilization, within the same western political tradition of legal and constitutional liberty. The elements of union and identity can be lengthened easily, but cannot find space here. This does not apply to the *whole* Third Force, unhappily. When the first decision came in Italy, Nenni went East, and there are a lot of Socialists and liberals all over who would, tragically, go with him, if they went honestly, to frank communism. But the majority would rightly join together in the West, especially if a lead were given.

(4) An American really ought not be happy, proclaiming that the big problem for Frenchmen or anybody else is to avoid choice "between the Soviet Union and the United States." The better problem follows that choice, and the Third Forcers ought to hurry up and make it so that we can get on with the work. Having repudiated Soviet communism and chosen instead the friendship and collaboration of the Western fundamentally free and legal system, we are faced by the practical two-sided challenge. What can be done about stopping and reducing and eliminating the expansive force of communist tyranny, and how can we best work to develop and build up the force and attraction of the free and faithful system which happens to include America, are the long questions whose answers require labor. The potentialities are not all unknown and the means don't have to be created altogether from the egg: there is, after all, some enduring civilization. A necessary first step for further progress, however, is to persuade M. Mollet to grit his teeth and plunge.

PHILIP BURNHAM.

CATHOLIC INTERNATIONAL NEWS

FRANCISCANS' HOLY LAND MILITIA

Rome, 6/18 (CIP)—Between 1,000 and 1,500 applications for enrollment in the proposed Holy Land Militia are being received every day at the Delegation of the Custody of the Holy Land (*Delegazione di Terrasanta*) here, a CIP correspondent was told officially at the Delegation. No decision about the matter has been taken yet, however, he was also told, and none is likely before the United Nations has passed on the question. The enrollments are the result of a proposal for a non-political, non-military and international militia for the protection of the religious shrines and Holy Places in Palestine which was put forward recently by the Custody of the Holy Land (*Custodia di Terrasanta*), which dates from the thirteenth century, and is composed of Franciscan Fathers from various countries, under the direction of the Custos of the Holy Land, *Very Reverend Alberto Gori, O.F.M.* Applications have been received from Italy as well as from other countries, but for the time being these applications are simply being sorted and kept on file.

"The press has completely misrepresented the spirit of this Crusade in the Holy Land," the CIP correspondent was told at the Holy Land Delegation. "Some newspapers have given eccentric details which are unfounded and make no sense. It is the intention of the Franciscan Fathers, who have been the guardians of the Holy Places for centuries, to establish a small militia, a kind of Palatine Guard, which would have the task of guarding the Holy Sepulchre and the various Christian shrines and religious buildings such as monasteries and convents, pilgrims' hostels and hospitals. The militia would be of a purely religious and symbolic character."

The Custody of the Holy Land has expressed to the UN the desire of many Christians to see the protection of the shrines entrusted to Christians. No decision is likely, however, before the future status of the City of Jerusalem is settled.

A memorandum which the Custody of the Holy Land sent to the Papal Secretariat of State and to the diplomatic representatives of all Christian nations in Rome, June 5, emphasized that the militia would not have "any political character, any plans of conquest or domination, any aggressive aims, or any commercial character." It would be prepared, however, to care for the wounded and the sick and would "contribute to the effective internationalization of the Holy Places."

POLISH BISHOPS GO TO ROME

Warsaw, 6/19 (CIP)—A delegation of the Polish Hierarchy is planning to visit Rome and present to the Holy Father the Bishops' opinions about the problems raised in the Pope's letter to the German Hierarchy, according to *Tygodnik Powszechny* (General Gazette), the principal Catholic weekly in Poland, published at

Cracow. The Pope's letter referred to is the one dated March 1, 1948, which dealt with the fate of the Germans expelled from the Eastern territories, especially those annexed by Poland. The letter has been used by the Communist press in Poland as a pretext for violent attacks against the pro-German Vatican and the "unpatriotic" Polish Hierarchy.

The Catholic press in Poland has pointed out that the Pope's letter to the German Bishops, while deploring the sufferings of the expellees, does not mention the Oder-Neisse border between Poland and Germany nor any suggestions that this border should be changed. The *Tygodnik Warszawski*, the Warsaw weekly which is considered the mouthpiece of Cardinal Hlond, for instance, stated that the Pope's critical remarks dealt only with the form and extent of the expulsion of the Germans and not with the border.

The Catholic press here is in a very difficult position. The Communist papers have been quoting many German publications as interpreting the Pope's letter as a demand for border revisions. The Communist papers have also been pointing out that German Catholic leaders have been sending numerous letters to the Vatican expressing their gratitude for his attitude. Nor can it be overlooked that Poles, regardless of religious or political affiliations, feel the present border right and proper. At the same time, it is equally true that the Poles are not reconciled to their present Eastern border and to the fact that millions of Poles have been expelled from Soviet-annexed territories. It is forbidden, however, even to hint that these Eastern borders may not be permanent, so that mention of any possible changes in the West creates in the public mind a fear that Poland will lose on both fronts.

Catholic circles here are expressing particular interest in the proposed trip of the Polish Bishops' delegations to Rome since no Polish Bishop has visited the Vatican so far this year. They are also concerned over the fact that several priests who asked for passports in order to go to Rome have not received them.

INDIA ESTABLISHES DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH VATICAN

Rome, 6/18 (CIP)—Diplomatic relations between the Dominion of India and the Vatican have been established, according to *Osservatore Romano*, and the Holy See as well as the Government of India have expressed the expectations that "the friendly relations already existing between them will be greatly strengthened in this manner, for their mutual benefit."

CIP has learned that negotiations for the establishment of diplomatic relations were started about a year ago when *Monsignor Egidio Vagnozzi*, Counselor at the Paris Nunciature, was transferred to the Apostolic Delegation for East India, at Bangalore. It is believed in well-informed circles here that Monsignor Vagnozzi may become the first Apostolic Internuncio for India, while the present Apostolic Delegate, *Archbishop Leo Peter Kierkels, C.P.*, who is a native of the Netherlands, will remain Apostolic Delegate for Pakistan.

Summer Brings the Mexicans

The National Farm Labor Union AFL discusses
the importation of Mexican agricultural laborers

IN VIEW of the interest aroused by Ernesto Galarza's article, "Big Farm Strike"—the strike at the Di Giorgio Fruit Corporation's twelve-thousand acre ranch in California (THE COMMONWEAL, June 4) we now publish a statement from the National Farm Labor Union, AFL, 726—9th Street, Washington, N.W., dealing explicitly with the provisions governing the importation of farm laborers from Mexico, but implicitly with the more general problem of labor in our "factories in the fields."—THE EDITORS.

ON FEBRUARY 6, 1948, the Department of State published the text of an agreement between the Government of Mexico and the Government of the United States for the importation of agricultural workers to this country.

This agreement replaced a previous one of similar nature entered into in April, 1943, by the two governments. At that time the United States was facing a serious manpower shortage, which was met in part through Mexican co-operation. Over 300,000 Mexican nationals were brought to the United States for employment on the railways and in agriculture during the war years. The new agreement applies only to agricultural workers.

The labor movement has recognized the important contribution to war production that the Mexican nationals made. But in acknowledging this contribution, organized labor has not lost sight of the fact that this type of agreement, and the manner in which it has been negotiated and administered, holds serious threats against the living standards of the workers of both Mexico and the United States.

The 1948 agreement was pushed through under the pressure from finance farmers in this country who find it to their advantage to import foreign labor rather than to use available domestic workers. Between June, 1947, and February, 1948, many thousands of requests for Mexican nationals were filed by growers. The National Farm Labor Union is currently receiving hundreds of letters from domestic agricultural workers asking for jobs.

The labor importation agreement provides that any owner or operator of an agricultural enterprise, or any association of owners or operators, may import Mexican workers. The Mexican Gov-

ernment must be informed three months in advance of the number of men required for a given area. The request is to specify that domestic workers are not available at the prevailing wages in that area. Written authorization must be obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The agreement further provides that certain travel expenses are to be paid by the employer. Wages are to be the same as those paid to domestic agricultural workers under the same conditions within the area. Hourly rates are to be fixed in the individual work contract. Certain deductions are to be made from wages, including one for the creation of an individual savings fund. Work is guaranteed for three-quarters of the six-month period contracted for.

These and other provisions give the impression that reasonable precautions were taken by the negotiators to protect fully the interests of both the Mexicans and of United States farm workers.

Since this type of agreement is likely to be continued indefinitely under pressure from finance farming in this country, the National Farm Labor Union believes that the time has come for a closer look at the matter.

The negotiation of arrangements for the large-scale movement of workers across international boundaries involves consideration not only of the economic factors in agricultural production, but also of their effect on labor and living standards. Such international agreements are of profound concern to the trade-union movement of the Americas as well as to the associations of industrial farmers who have promoted them in the past.

The 1948 agreement, on the surface of the text, goes far enough in the provisions for maintenance of established standards to give a false sense of security both to the Mexican nationals and to the domestic agricultural workers.

However, the fact that neither Mexican nor United States farm labor representatives were permitted to take part in, nor were they reasonably informed about the negotiations; and that, in contrast, the large growers were so kept informed, indicates how much weight was given to the maintenance of standards and how much to the economic interests of the big growers.

Since large-scale importation of nationals for the harvesting of 1948 crops is about to begin; since the present agreement constitutes a threat to the labor standards of both Mexico and the United States; and since the National Farm Labor Union was not given an opportunity, within due process of public hearings, to analyze the agreement before it was signed, it does so publicly at this time.

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The agreement is open to the following fundamental objections, among others:

1. The wages to be paid are agreed to in advance, in Mexico, by the worker. The employer agrees to give the worker "complete information" on the job offered. The Mexicans have no way of knowing whether that information is accurate or complete; whether domestic workers in a given area are demanding higher wages; or whether employers are threatening to cut wages. These and other types of information which are necessary for the worker to properly assess his interests before entering into a labor contract will certainly not be given by the big growers.

2. The wage provisions of the agreement discriminate against domestic workers. Farm wages for the nationals are supposed to take into account the cost of living in the United States at the time of contracting. No such rule is observed by the employers when they hire domestic workers.

3. The contract states only the hourly wage rate to be paid the worker. However, it gives the employer the option of paying by piece rates. These rates are not to be determined on the basis of piece rates paid domestic workers, but on the basis of the "prevailing wage." This is presumably the hourly wage. The way is opened for driving down piece rates paid domestic workers.

4. Growers will be allowed to hire Mexicans on certification that "domestic workers are not available at prevailing wages in the area." Thus the "prevailing wage" is frozen against efforts of domestic workers to raise them. If they will not accept last year's wages because of increases in the cost of living, those wages nevertheless are still the "prevailing wage" and Mexicans may be brought in under contract at those rates. This might be called a Mexican hot freeze on domestic farm labor wage ceilings.

5. Medical attention is to be given the Mexicans "in accordance with prevailing laws, customs or practices." The well-known practice is that domestic workers get no such attention. In the final analysis the agreement leaves the matter "on the basis of equitable and just principles"—a provision that is about as airtight as a barn door in a high wind.

6. The agreement gives an equally false im-

pression with regard to housing, accident compensation and the treatment of occupational diseases. It speaks of "the same guarantees enjoyed by domestic agricultural workers as prescribed by Federal or State legislation in the United States." Farm workers in this country are notoriously excluded from Federal or State legislative protection of this kind, as well as from social security.

7. Compliance by the employer is to be obtained by the use of the "good offices" of the United States Department of Labor when requested by the Mexican national. The United States authorities are empowered to interpret the clauses of the contract, without appeal by the workers. Mexican consuls or their representatives may enter the place of employment "for the purpose of discussing *with the employer* alleged violations." That these makeshift substitutes for an adequate and equitable grievance procedure result in unjust treatment of the Mexican national has been abundantly demonstrated by the operation of the 1943 agreement.

8. The workers are permitted to elect their own representatives to deal with employers. What happens when a conscientious representative begins to present grievances is familiar history. He is usually labeled "agitator" and shipped home. Inequality of bargaining power was never more pathetically illustrated than in the efforts of these "representatives" to improve conditions for their fellow workers.

9. Protection from discrimination is promised the nationals. The agreement does not point out that the United States Government has no agency to enforce this guarantee.

10. No inspection service is provided to supervise the operation of the agreement or compliance with the labor contract. Under the 1943 agreement at least a handful of Mexican labor inspectors were assigned to duty in the United States. Even this inadequate safeguard has been eliminated.

11. The agreement specifically states that the individual work contracts are on a direct worker-to-employer basis. This clearly means that neither government is a party to the individual work contract. Yet the agreement empowers both governments to make "fundamental changes" in the contracts "through diplomatic channels." This is a striking and novel principle of law, by which agents not parties to a contract may nevertheless change it substantively without consulting those who *are* parties to the contract.

12. The individual work contract can be terminated before its normal expiration (six months) *only* upon the request of the employer. No provision is made for termination on demand by the worker. Moreover, such termination is to be decided by the Mexican consul, the United States

Employment Service and the Immigration and Naturalization Service, who are not parties to the contract.

13. Transfers from one place of employment to another are ordinarily of two kinds—one, on request of a dissatisfied employer, and two, on request of a dissatisfied worker. Only the first kind is provided for in the agreement.

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To these defects, all of which were plainly brought out by experience with the 1943 agreement, should be added criticisms of another type. The present agreement is no less objectionable because it contains flagrant violations of Mexican labor standards as laid down in the constitution and the Federal labor code of the Republic of Mexico.

Article 123 of the Mexican constitution gives the Federal Congress the power to enact legislation on labor standards and social assistance. This broad authority, as the Mexican Supreme Court has stated, "was born out of the desire to improve the condition of the workers." Such laws, including the Federal labor code, are clearly applicable to farm labor. "They constitute," as the Supreme Court has said, "rights and obligations of the contracting parties and a set of rules to which all individual labor contracts must adhere." Article 123 also voids any contract in which the worker by implication renounces any right accorded him by law. Contracts between Mexican citizens and foreign employers are clearly covered by the Mexican constitution.

The agreement for the importation of Mexican nationals is a weak compromise between the higher standards for the protection of farm workers prescribed by Mexican law and the notoriously inadequate legal protection afforded domestic workers. The finance farmers who pressured the agreement to a conclusion yielded on some points; but in the main they got a deal that approves many violations of the labor standards defined in the Mexican Federal constitution and in the Federal labor code.

Here are some of these violations:

Minimum wages. Article 416 of the Mexican labor code states that the minimum wage shall be set by joint conciliation boards on which the workers shall be equally represented with the employers. The agreement leaves the determination of the minimum wage to an unequal bargaining process between the foreign employer and the worker. The Mexican code specifies that the minimum wage shall be fixed on the basis of economic conditions prevailing "in the region" of employment. The agreement takes the cost of living "in the United States" as the basis for computation. The fixing of minimum wages by joint boards is mandatory, not optional.

Pay for days of rest. Mexican law provides

that wages earned by piece work shall be increased by 16 percent of the weekly earnings, such increase to constitute pay for the weekly day of rest prescribed by law. The Mexican Supreme Court has held that wages paid on a weekly or monthly, not piece rate, basis, are exempt from this provision. The agreement states: "Payment for Sunday is included in the wages stipulated in the agreement." These are hourly, not weekly or monthly, pay rates, and they may be converted into piece rates at the option of the employer.

Wage payments. Article 22 of the code nullifies any work contract which stipulates a period of more than one week for the payment of wages. The agreement says nothing on this score.

Overtime. Mexican law requires payment of double time for all overtime beyond the regular eight-hour day. The agreement substitutes "the laws of the State where the work is performed." Domestic farm workers know from bitter experience how generous State laws are on overtime pay.

Transportation costs. The Mexican code makes the employer responsible for all transportation costs. The agreement, by establishing a distinction between the "place of contract" and the place of residence, shifts a part of this burden to the shoulders of the worker.

Deductions. Article 111 of the code authorizes only one kind of deduction from wages for savings. This deduction may be made only in behalf of savings co-operatives created by trade unions and when specifically authorized by the rules of the unions. The agreement directs the employer to deduct 10 percent of the worker's wages for a savings fund, payable at the border when the Mexican returns home.

Accident compensation. The Mexican constitution makes compensation for accidents and occupational diseases by the employer compulsory. The Federal labor code and the Federal law on occupational diseases specifically include farm workers. The agreement substitutes the laws of the State where the work is performed. It is well known that State laws in this country do not provide compulsory coverage for farm workers against accidents and occupational diseases.

Medical attention. Mexican law is specific and clear-cut on the types of services that employers must provide to protect the health of their agricultural employees. The agreement substitutes non-existing United States laws, mythical practices, imaginary customs and "equitable principles" to be interpreted by the employer.

Housing. Concerning the provisions of housing Mexican law is equally explicit. Homes for farm workers must be "comfortable and hygienic." The agreement sets up as the standard the type of house "used by the domestic agricultural workers in the region." This would include the ditch bank

and tent colony slums that prevail in many areas of the Southwest.

Jurisdiction. For the enforcement of labor legislation and compliance with labor agreements, Mexican law delegates specific authority to various bodies, from the Department of Labor to the joint conciliation and arbitration boards. The agreement puts in the place of these agencies the non-existing authority of United States administrative departments which have no compliance powers.

Inspection. By Mexican law an inspector may enter the place of employment at any time of the day or night and may question a complaining worker without the presence of witnesses. The agreement states that Mexican consuls shall have access to the place of employment "for the purpose of discussing with the employer alleged violations." Since the Mexican consulates in this country are already badly understaffed and overworked, they cannot and will not be able to enforce thousands of individual contracts scattered throughout many states.

Arbitration. Article 123 of the Mexican constitution states that differences arising between employers and workers shall be heard and if possible settled by joint conciliation and arbitration boards. The agreement says: "The proper authorities of the Government of the United States, *in representation of the employers* and in cooperation with the Mexican authorities, are empowered to formulate . . . the best interpretation of the several clauses of the labor contract." This prize exhibit of "equitable and just principles" makes the public officials of the United States Government the personal representatives of the employers; and goes further in making the Mexican authorities perform as assistants to the personal representatives of the finance farmers in whose interest the agreement was negotiated. Against this formidable array, a single Mexican national, without benefit of counsel, is expected to hold his own.

Legal aid. The foregoing provision is all the more significant in the light of Article 19 of the Federal labor code, which directs the Department of Labor to maintain a legal-assistance service to represent the workers in their disputes with employers.

Bond. Employers who hire Mexican citizens for work outside the country are required to post a bond with the National Bank of Mexico adequate to cover all repatriation costs. The agreement skips this requirement.

Amendments. Article 115 of the Mexican code states that labor contracts may be amended through legal processes on petition of either party to the contract. The agreement gives this power to agents who are not parties to the contract, and

deprives the worker of any voice even when substantive changes are made in a contract that he has already signed.

From the foregoing facts, one conclusion that can be drawn is this: By means of an agreement between the governments of the two countries the labor standards of Mexican workers brought to the United States under contract have been seriously revised downward. The fact that the Mexican constitution states categorically that workers' rights are inalienable has not been taken very seriously.*

Behind the Mexican labor and social assistance standards, as defined in the constitution and the national labor code and other legislation and in Supreme Court decisions, lies a half-century of bitter struggle and great sacrifice by the people of Mexico. This struggle has given meaning to a great epoch in the history of the Republic of Mexico and has made it in times past the symbol of hope for the masses of Latin America. In inducing thousands of Mexican farm workers to come to this country under contract, finance farming hopes to reinforce its campaign against United States agricultural labor in its efforts to achieve decent standards of living.

The National Farm Labor Union has observed how corporation growers have used Mexican nationals to break legitimate farm strikes. While the union stands ready to provide domestic workers who are out of jobs and seeking employment, the United States Government, in its agreement with Mexico, puts into the official record the statement that there is already a shortage of farm labor in this country.

The operation of the present agreement comes at a time, curiously enough, when Mexican employers are mounting a campaign against Mexican labor standards modeled upon the Taft-Hartley Law. This agreement conceals a double-edged thrust against American living standards. One edge is cutting at the organized efforts of the domestic agricultural workers to better their conditions, while the other slices at the legal rights of labor in Latin America.

In the light of what is actually happening, the pious resolutions of the Pan American conferences of recent years sound like so much dream talk to put the workers to sleep.

A trend is in motion which will eventually affect the working and living standards of labor in every country in the Western Hemisphere.

The National Farm Labor Union demands the immediate suspension of the present agreement between the governments of the United States and Mexico to import farm workers into this country.

* We suppose that the constitutional provisions do not reflect the achieved condition of Mexican agriculture, but rather a conscious target for reform.—THE EDITORS.

Guilty or Not Guilty?

Raymond J. Poltronieri

WE HAVE a newspaper in our town. It's just half the size of a regular newspaper and both the outside sheets and the complete centerfold are filled with photographs each morning.

When there's a big fire you'll find a picture of a collapsed wall with an arm of one of the victims visible in the rubble. If there's some labor trouble you'll see a group of men beating a worker who tried to enter his factory. When a gangster is assassinated you'll see him slumped in the front seat of his limousine with his body full of bullet holes.

If a child murders his parents, he's pictured there. When an old woman is dispossessed, she's shown seated in a rocking chair outside her home surrounded by all her furniture.

If a young woman jumps from the top of a high building, there'll be a picture of her splattered remains in the gutter. Sometimes she's even pictured in midair, on the way down.

And you must understand how great an influence this paper has on its millions of readers. Groups of them gather at the newspaper stands every evening to await its delivery by the modern, powerful trucks. In our town, you see, it is possible to buy the next day's paper at about 9 o'clock of the previous evening. If, because of storms or floods, the delivery of the paper is delayed, the readers feel the loss severely and will often be unable to sleep that night.

You can't tell it today from the size to which this paper has grown, but a friend of mine once campaigned to destroy this newspaper. He didn't try to do this by any legal action, by boycott, or by explosives.

He tried to burn up each copy individually every day.

My friend was the scrawniest, the busiest and the most excitable fellow at school. If he disagreed with you, and he disagreed for the slightest cause, he'd shout, scream and throw his arms about wildly in the air as he expounded his own views. A teacher who once suggested he drink a quart of milk a day to build himself up was responsible for my friend's questioning the value of present-day teaching methods. A traffic officer who requested he wait for the green light before crossing the street was subjected to such acid insults that tears came to the policeman's eyes.

My friend became militant in the campaign

against the newspaper because of a girl. She was a young and attractive girl, but one to whom he had never spoken.

"That girl," he said to me one morning as she entered the train one station after our own. "We were all in the same class together at school. Do you remember her name?"

"Can't say that I do, Charlie; she moved into the neighborhood during the senior year."

A week later he noticed her again.

"You know that girl," he said, "if she were any heavier she'd be too heavy and if she were any paler she'd be too pale."

"I guess you're right, Charlie," I answered, knowing it would be unwise to disagree.

"Do you suppose," he went on, "a girl's appearance could change the course of her life? Could one go through life unwhistled at because of a crooked nose while another would be the object of a thousand stares and courtesies?"

"I guess you're right, Charlie."

"These deep questions sometimes bother me," he added.

The girl at this point turned to a young man nearby and said a few words. They both burst into laughter as though enjoying some private joke.

"On the other hand," Charlie continued, picking up his previous theme, "it's quite possible that what a girl gains in beauty she loses in character."

Two weeks later he mentioned her again; this time he interrupted when we were speaking of something entirely different.

"I haven't seen that young fellow she was with any more, have you?"

"You mean her brother. He usually takes a later train, Charlie."

"Is he her brother? Did you know that all this time?"

"Sure, Charlie, didn't you?"

"No," he answered, "but I'm glad you mentioned it while I'm still young."

On another occasion he suddenly mentioned her after he had been absolutely quiet for a long period.

"She seems so different from all the others," he began, "without the heavy, stupid look of the other people."

"It's only because she's still young," I began to explain, for now his constant references to the unnamed young lady were becoming irritating.

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"In ten years, after she's worked as hard and lived through the things the others have she'll look just like them."

"No, I disagree," my friend said. "It's not the hard work nor the strains of life. I believe it's the newspaper."

"The newspaper? What newspaper?"

"The tabloid with all the pictures," he explained. "I've noticed all the others read it each morning but her."

"But how could that paper make her look different?"

"Haven't you ever read it?" he asked. "I've been forced to a few times because it carries the baseball batting averages. No one could read it for any length of time and come through unscathed. In fact, if you read it just once straight through you'd forget about the beauty of the morning and couldn't even feel thrilled by all the activity of a day getting started."

"Do you mean that if she decides suddenly to begin reading this newspaper or even reads it now over someone's shoulder she'll become old and tired and cynical?"

"As long as she's exposed to it there's a danger," he said and I could almost see the blood rising to his head.

After a moment he thrust his arm into the air like an orator and said mysteriously, "Wait until tomorrow. Wait until tomorrow."

The following morning we met on the train again. We were standing together silently when suddenly he left me, squeezed through the crowd to a point a few yards away and then, within a second, was at my side again. Presently there was a great commotion. I heard men swear and women scream. There was a great flame, a great pressing backward from the flame and finally a heavy stamping sound made by many feet. It seemed a newspaper had somehow been set afire.

My friend became even more nervous than he was ordinarily and left the train a few stations before his destination.

A similar incident took place on the two following mornings. After each blaze my friend became less afraid and no longer ran from the train. He even took part in the excitement attending the arsons. He would help stamp out the fire and offer an explanation as to its cause—saying someone had been smoking carelessly and had ignited the paper.

On the fourth day a paper held by an enormously fat woman burst into flame and soon after I saw my friend off in a corner of the train doubled up with laughter. I joined him and we spoke in low tones out of the corners of our mouths.

"You'll be found out," I said; "you've been doing this on the same train each morning, at the same time, in the same car, and among the same people. Someone probably saw you laughing."

"Sir," he mocked, "after a fierce battle, would you deny a soldier a few moments of pleasure?"

"Do you think," I countered, "that any soldier would use such crude weapons?"

"There are times when one man must charge battalions with only a bayonet," he said and bolted off to another end of the car.

As the train pulled into the station everyone was startled by the blowing of the train's whistle—the long, sharp sound followed by two short sounds and repeated a number of times. The train stopped and the doors opened. A uniformed man was at each door to prevent anyone's leaving. Two giant men entered the car and walked from one end to the other scrutinizing the passengers. A third thin man who had been on the train sitting next to a fat woman looked up from his own copy of the tabloid and pointed out my friend.

The two giant men each put a hand under one of my friend's arms and carried him away.



"Guilty or not guilty?" asked the court clerk after all the charges had been recited.

"Not guilty, sir," shot back Charlie sharply and defiantly.

"Young man," the magistrate, a large, bald man with a booming voice interrupted, "I think you're only trying to waste the court's time. You can't possibly have an explanation for your insane behavior."

"I was only trying, sir," Charlie began briskly, "I was only trying to destroy it."

"Destroy it? Destroy it? Destroy what?" the magistrate asked.

"The newspaper, sir. The morning newspaper with all the pictures. I believe it does great harm to the people who read it each day."

"Harm? Harm? Great harm?" the magistrate smiled and looked about as a man does when he feels he is dealing with a fool and wishes the bystanders to get in on the fun, "in what way, young man, do you think it does great harm?"

"Well, sir," Charlie began, "each morning it reviews, pictorially when possible, all of the unhappy events of the previous day—the crime the scandal, the catastrophe. It has a force which overpowers the feeling of joy and strength with which we should begin each day. It has millions of readers and is therefore causing great harm to these millions."

"Don't you think, my boy," the magistrate asked, "that it's up to each individual to decide for himself whether he should read this paper or not?"

"An interesting question," said Charlie. "I think people should decide many things for themselves, but there is also a point at which we must

stop them from destroying themselves."

"Young man," continued the magistrate, still in a benevolent tone, "do you realize the newspaper in question sends poor, deserving children away to camp during the summer months? Do you realize it devotes a page each day soliciting contributions for the needy?"

"I don't think many read that page," Charlie commented. His manner indicated he was losing patience with the magistrate.

"Do you know this paper is only thirty years old and already occupies one of the city's tallest buildings. The lobby of the building is a thing of beauty—all tile and marble."

"I wasn't trying to burn down the building," said Charlie, and now took no interest in either the proceedings or the magistrate's oration.

"In the center of the lobby," continued the magistrate, "is a large revolving globe upon which you can locate any city in the world. Also around the lobby are a number of clocks from which you can tell the time in every country in the world and charts which show the size of all the other planets in relation to the earth." The magistrate looked at everyone in the courtroom and finally his gaze returned to Charlie. "And do you know," he finished, "that this paper employs 25,000 people?"

"I refuse to talk to you," said Charlie, "you keep confusing size and greatness."

The magistrate changed from his jovial attitude to one of anger. He was consulting with the court attendants who had gathered before the bench when the swinging doors at the entrance to the courtroom were thrown open with such violence that they crashed against the walls. Every spectator twisted his head to see what had happened.

The young girl had arrived. The girl who had, without her knowledge, been the cause of all the difficulty. All eyes remained upon her as she strutted down the center aisle and, when she had reached a section of the court to which spectators were not permitted, a policeman held back a gate so she could enter.

Charles and I were asking ourselves the same question—how had she discovered Charlie had started his crusade on her account? She looked more attractive than ever, with a ruddy complexion and a brisk manner. She was wearing a brown suit and, suspended from her shoulder, was a large leather case a man would never have taken for a purse.

She went directly to Charlie and his interest in life could be seen returning to his face.

"I'm glad I got here on time," she began.

"Do you remember," asked Charlie softly, "when we were in that class together at school?"

"Yes," she said, "but then you never even spoke to me."

"When you're young," Charlie replied, "you feel you always have a million more important things to do."

"Why did you do this?" she asked, pointing to a charred newspaper which had been brought in as evidence.

"Don't you know?"

"No," the girl replied. "Should I?"

Charlie looked foolishly at the ground and did not answer.

"I suppose that was what Mr. Phillips meant," the girl began rapidly, "when he said women were better for doing the work on this job but were no good at all when any brains were needed."

"What Mr. Phillips and what job?" Charlie managed to ask.

"Mr. Phillips is our supervisor," the girl said. "At one time they just had men doing this work, but they weren't very good. One even started to apply artificial respiration to a swimmer who had almost drowned and forgot all about taking the picture."

With this explanation she swung the leather case from her shoulder and, all in one movement, the front part of the case fell downward and a most expensive camera was revealed. The young girl brought the camera to her eye and aimed it at Charlie while the magistrate and the other attendants strained to get into the picture.

Charlie hasn't yet been released. This incident has naturally become a great joke among his friends and Charlie doesn't bother to write to them.

It has been said, though, that he'll be just as happy if he never gets out.

Shakespeare's Religion

G. B. HARRISON

SHAKESPEARE has been claimed by Catholics, by Anglicans and even by Puritans; but for the last twenty years scholars have more and more come to accept the evidence that he was brought up in a Catholic home.

Thus in 1928, the late J. S. Smart (in "Shakespeare—Truth and Tradition"—a book intended to demolish dubious legends), commenting on the legal troubles which fell upon John Shakespeare, observed that "from the legal expressions employed, taken in conjunction with the circumstances of the time, we may believe that adherence to Catholicism would adequately explain the affair." Smart went on to give a good summary of the position of John Shakespeare and many in a like difficulty: "By the middle of Elizabeth's reign the resolute Catholics who were ready to endure all things for their cause had become a small and harried minority; but there were still waverers who accepted the new faith with reluc-

tance, and would have adhered to the old, if they could have done so without opposition to the law. They attended the parish churches as seldom as possible, heard Mass if an opportunity presented itself, associated in private with those who were like-minded with themselves, and regretted the age of change and unsettlement in which their lot was cast."

"No clear-cut distinction had yet been drawn between Catholic and Protestant; and many men who were willing to accept the Sovereign as head of the Church still clung with affection to the old rites with which they had been familiar from childhood. They were perplexed and inconsistent, sometimes they took the oath of supremacy, and complied with new ecclesiastical ordinances. Sometimes the spirit of Dissent revived. On several occasions when the extreme Catholics themselves had plunged into dangerous and treasonable practices, the work of suppression was carried on with peculiar energy and comprehensiveness. One of these occasions took place in 1580—the year in which John Shakespeare was summoned before the Court of Queen's Bench. Multitudes of Catholics in every part of the country were being sought out, arrested and imprisoned, and subjected to heavy fines."

In 1930, E. K. Chambers, as might be expected, was skeptical and oracular. In "William Shakespeare: a study of facts and problems," he noted that "the notion of a religious romance in the drab life of a town councillor has proved too much for his biographers, and much ingenuity has been spent in interpreting what little is known of John's personal and official life on the theory that he was in fact a recusant"; yet Chambers agrees that the recusancy returns of September, 1592, which include John Shakespeare's name, are returns of Catholics and not of Puritans.

In 1932, J. Dover Wilson in his "biographical adventure," "The Essential Shakespeare," wrote: "John Shakespeare fell into trouble of some kind with the authorities about 1580, which led to his dropping out of the public life of the town for a while. This trouble was almost certainly due to his being a recusant, that is to say a member of the 'old religion,' who refused to attend church."

A more thorough and convincing case was presented by Madame Clara Longworth de Chambrun in her "Shakespeare Rediscovered" (1938). This book did not perhaps receive the attention that it deserved, partly because of the times, partly also because Madame de Chambrun is not a professional scholar. In 1946, J. H. de Groot published a full investigation of the whole problem in his book "The Shakespeares and the 'Old Faith.'"

The evidence for William Shakespeare's Catholic upbringing is, and must be, largely a matter of inference from facts, but it is a fact that his

father was officially reported to be a recusant in the spring of 1592. In November, 1591, commissioners had been appointed by the Privy Council to collect and report every quarter to the Bishop of the diocese the names of those who refused to go to the church. In the spring of 1592, a list of 42 names was sent up from Warwickshire, amongst them Mr. John Shakespeare. A second list was sent up in the autumn; by that time some had either conformed or promised to conform. Nine names, including John Shakespeare, reappeared, with the note "it is said that these come not to church for fear of process of debt."

There is also the little known document known as "John Shakespeare's will." The original, long since lost or destroyed, contained five small sheets, sewn together. It was found in Stratford-on-Avon by a workman under the tiles in John Shakespeare's house in Henley Street, and a transcript made by a local antiquary, named John Jordan, was printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in 1784. Some time later the original manuscript was sent to Edmund Malone—an Elizabethan expert of the first rank—who declared it to be genuine and printed his own transcript in his edition of Shakespeare's Works in 1790.

The "will" so-called is in fact a profession of the Catholic faith in the form of a spiritual testament, containing fourteen sections each beginning "I, John Shakespeare." The testator declares that at the time of writing the testament he is aware that he may die unprepared by any sacrament, and if so he prays that he may be spiritually anointed.

Earlier biographers impatiently dismissed the document as an obvious forgery by Jordan, but Madame de Chambrun has shown that far from being a forgery it is in fact a form devised by Saint Charles Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan (1538-1584), whereby the Christian when in health makes a testament or last will of the soul "to secure himself from the temptations of the devil at the hour of death." Versions of the testament are known in Spanish, Italian, and Swiss dialect.

Seeing that Saint Charles Borromeo was visited by the Blessed Edmund Campion just before he came over to England in 1580 on the mission that led to his martyrdom, it is a reasonable inference that John Shakespeare received his copy either from Campion or from one of the other Catholic missionaries in the 1580's. In the final paragraph the testator declares that he will carry the testament "about me and for the better declaration hereof my will and intention is that it be finally buried with me after death." Such an open declaration of faith was evidence enough to hang a man in the Elizabethan perse-

cutions; and it is a sign of considerable steadfastness that John Shakespeare hid rather than burnt the testament, and especially after the troubles which befell his wife's family in 1583 and 1584.

John Shakespeare had married Mary Arden of Wilmcote near Stratford. The Ardens were Catholics of some standing. The senior branch of the family were the Ardens of Park Hall, owned at this time by Edward Arden, Esquire, a keen Catholic who maintained a priest—Father Hugh Hall—to say Mass. In 1583, when the enthusiasm kindled by the teaching and martyrdom of the Blessed Edmund Campion was still disturbing the Privy Council, Edward Arden's son-in-law, whose name was John Somerville, oppressed by the persecutions and by private worries, went out of his mind, eluded his family, and made off for London. His behavior and his words were wild; he was heard to utter threats against the Queen's life. As a result the whole family was soon involved in a charge of high treason. Edward Arden was condemned to death by quartering; he was executed in Smithfield on 20th December. His wife, Somerville, and Father Hall were likewise condemned. Mistress Arden was pardoned; Somerville died mysteriously by violence in prison; Father Hall apparently died in the Tower.

Now this Edward Arden was a cousin of Shakespeare's mother. In 1584 Shakespeare was aged 20, and the father of three children. Further, the chief agent in the persecution at the Stratford end was that Sir Thomas Lucy who, according to every local tradition and legend, was Shakespeare's chief enemy and the cause of his leaving Stratford. Moreover from this time Shakespeare's name disappears from all Stratford records. When he emerges from obscurity in 1593, he dedicates his first poem, "Venus and Adonis," to the young Earl of Southampton whose family was notoriously Catholic. The pattern at least makes sense.

It may also be noted that from 1571 to 1575 (that is from Shakespeare's eighth to twelfth years) the schoolmaster at Stratford was Simon Hunt, a graduate from Oxford and a man of considerable character and ability. In 1575 Hunt left England for the Catholic college at Douai, and in 1578 was admitted to the Society of Jesus. Hunt's successor at the Stratford school was a Welshman named Thomas Jenkins.

It would thus appear at least likely that Shakespeare was brought up as a Catholic. "Shakespeare," notes Dr. T. M. Parrott, "had nothing of the prejudice, partly national, partly religious, against Catholicism which marked so many of his contemporaries. Spenser might symbolize the Roman Church in the person of a foul witch; Marlowe introduce the Pope and Cardinals into a scene of gross buffoonery in "Dr. Faustus," and Dekker entitle an anti-papal play, "The Whore

of Babylon," but Shakespeare has no trace of the Puritan's bitterness or the playwright's readiness to raise a laugh by a jeer at Rome. The figures of priests, cardinals and bishops that he introduces in his plays are always respectable, sometimes venerable characters, and his references to Catholic doctrines and practices are always reverent."

Nevertheless if Shakespeare was brought up a Catholic it is doubtful whether he lived as one, at least in his thirties and forties. Indeed as one re-reads his plays one notices that his Catholic sympathies are most conspicuous in his earlier plays. Friar Laurence in "Romeo and Juliet," Friar Francis in "Much Ado," the priest in "Twelfth Night," are sympathetic characters, grave, patient, wise (or at least well meaning) men whom every one respects. I am less happy about Friar Thomas and the Duke in "Measure for Measure." The Duke disguises himself as a friar for the most worthy motives, though the deception is questionable; but with some coaching from Friar Thomas he even hears the confessions of the prisoners—on which matter one would like the opinion of his own confessor.

★

As for Shakespeare's Protestant parsons, Parson Evans in "The Merry Wives" is amusing, and Nathaniel the curate in "Love's Labor's Lost" though an indifferent actor and certainly wrongly cast for Alexander the Great is a good worthy man and an excellent bowler. In "As You Like It," "Sir Oliver Martext, the vicar of the next village," whom Touchstone introduces to marry him to Audrey is a poor specimen, and moves Jaques's indignation: "And will you, being a man of your breeding, be married under a bush like a beggar? Get you to church, and have a good priest that can tell you what marriage is: this fellow will but join you together as they join wainscot." It is a matter of individual prejudice whether in this passage the accent should fall on "good" or on "priest!"

Most conspicuously in "King John," which was a rewriting of an older play called "The Troublesome Reign of King John," Shakespeare wiped out the hearty, boisterous, anti-Catholic propaganda. In "The Troublesome Reign" there is a long scene in which the Bastard raids a monastery, and of course finds a nun hidden in a chest. Shakespeare cut the scene entirely. In "The Troublesome Reign" another scene shows how King John was poisoned by a monk and the Bastard comments:

This is the fruit of Popery when true Kings
Are slain and shoulder'd out by monks and friars.

Shakespeare reduced the scene to a brief report by Hubert and cut the comment.

However, at the beginning of the seventeenth century his general attitude towards faith and

religion certainly seems to have changed. In "Hamlet" there are indeed several instances of Catholic doctrine and sentiment; the Ghost comes back from Purgatory (and not as sometimes in Elizabethan plays from a classical Hades) whither he was suddenly dispatched "unhouselled, disappointed, unaneled"—and without absolution, preparation, or supreme unction; but to Hamlet death is a consummation devoutly to be wished only if it is the annihilation of a dreamless sleep. Hamlet is far more interested in man than in God—"What a piece of work is a man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! in form and moving how express and admirable! in action how like an angel, in apprehension how like a god! the beauty of the world! the paragon of animals!"—a fine expression of that paganism which some call the emancipation of the Renaissance.

Hamlet also makes one of Shakespeare's few jibes at contemporary religious controversy: "We must speak by the card or equivocation will undo us." The doctrine of equivocation was in hot dispute between 1599 and 1606, and was one of the fiercest causes of contention in the great quarrel between the English secular priests and the Jesuits, which was so ably fomented by the Anglican Bishop of London. Five or six years later equivocation was again a main issue at the trial and execution of Father Garnet, accused of complicity in the Gunpowder Plot; and again Shakespeare commented through the Porter in "Macbeth": "Faith, here's an equivocator, that could swear in both the scales against either scale; who committed treason enough for God's sake, yet could not equivocate to heaven."

But apart from such casual topicalities Shakespeare's whole attitude had altered. The early plays were sprinkled with Christian sentiments, orthodox and often conventional, but in the later plays and especially the grimmer tragedies he lapsed into an almost Greek belief in the stars, fate and destiny. At its best it is half Christian—a belief in a special providence that cares for the fall of a sparrow; at its most pessimistic

As flies to wanton boys, are we to the gods,
They kill us for their sport;

Or,

Men must endure

Their going hence, even as their coming hither;
Ripeness is all—

that is, at its allotted time the fruit will drop—and rot.

In "The Tempest" Shakespeare—if ever—speaks out of part through Prospero, who sees the Universe ultimately dissolving to leave not a rack, a wisp of cloud, behind;

We are such stuff

As dreams are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep—

a flicker of consciousness between two infinities

of oblivion. This great speech though incomparable as poetry can hardly be regarded as the utterance of a professing Christian!

However, it is always dangerous to try to reconstruct a dramatist's own mind from the speeches of his puppets. Without evidence of fact one can rely only on personal impression; but taking the facts and fancies together the impression remains that Shakespeare was brought up in the Catholic faith, and as a young man he remained zealously faithful; but that in his forties he lapsed into a state of pessimistic agnosticism. Nevertheless, at the end—if the note left by the Reverend Richard Davies before 1708 is to be believed—"he dyed a papist."

Communications

OIL AND PUBLIC POWER

Oakland, Calif.

TO the Editors: I usually find myself in wholehearted agreement with your editorial comments to current events, but your remarks anent the tide-lands bill (in issue of May 28) seemed to me to be activated mostly by prejudice and preconceptions, rather than originating from an objective and dispassionate appraisal of the total situation. The coastwise states have always presumed tide-lands to be state territory, and for well over a decade after tidal oil fields were discovered along the California coast, the state exercised full sovereignty over them without protest from the federal government, regulating the manner of development even to the extent of a popular referendum, and collecting royalties for the oil produced as owner of the land.

The Supreme Court did not grant the federal government title to "the rich strategic tidal oil lands." In its ambiguous decision, the Court sidestepped this question of whether the tide lands are state or federal territory, and merely decreed that the federal government has supreme control over the tide lands.

It is true that in the last few years new tide-land oil pools have been discovered, and from geological evidence there are still others yet to be discovered. On the other hand, the Gaviota, Elwood and Huntington Beach fields are far from new, and, if my memory serves me right, the big Long Beach Harbor pool was proved up before the Department of the Interior initiated its expropriation action. (I am not a production man or a corporation lawyer, so I do not have the exact dates at my finger tips.) The federal claim applies just as much to these old producing fields as to newly discovered ones.

From the news accounts, the most aggressive lobbying was not that of the oil companies but that of the governors and other elected officials of the affected states. Maybe they had been "had," but it is simpler and more charitable to believe that they were honestly trying to retain for their states the revenue from tidal oil production and also the hitherto undisputed sovereignty over the tidal strip.

These considerations are enough to suggest it was an oversimplification of the case to state that the House had just enacted a bill "which would give up to the separate states title to the strategic oil fields hitherto vested in federal government and sustained as property of the federal government by a Supreme Court decision and a Presidential veto." What proof have you that the recent enactment was primarily due to the pressure of oil company lobbies, and have you queried any constitutional lawyers as to the soundness of the Court decision.

By the way, it is the little oil companies which are most likely to produce for the immediate profit without any regard for the future; not the big majors. The latter, with their large capital investments in refining and distribution facilities, are as much concerned over crude reserves and future sources of supply as the federal government.

R. N. SHIRAS.

PEERS VS. PEOPLE?

TO the Editors: Your current editorial on the present constitutional crisis in England, while giving correctly the Conservative Opposition's position, does not adequately state the Government's case. The Government was given a clear mandate by the country on nationalization, including that of coal, the banking system, the railways, of iron and of steel. The Labor Party went to the country with nationalization as one of their principal platforms, and received an overwhelming vote to carry through their program, whole and entire. By-elections have, in 90 percent of their results, reaffirmed the solid backing the people are giving their Government. The Lords' recalcitrance is good politics, but assumes, with Jean-Jacques Rousseau, that the British people are free only once in four years, and then only to change their minds!

ANNE FREMANTLE.

The Labor Movement

The Mundt-Nixon Bill

BY THE TIME this appears in print, the Senate will probably have adjourned without taking any action on the Mundt-Nixon Bill. It would be even better if they took the action of voting it down, but failing that, the next best thing is to leave it on the table and let it cool off.

There has been a lot of talk in the labor movement about the Mundt-Nixon Bill. And the labor movement is a pretty good place to go to find people who know something about communism from first-hand, and very often painful, experience with it.

It is childish to maintain that "the red menace" is seriously threatening our form of government. But the red menace has been all too real in a number of unions. And so the testimony of those who have been fighting it in these unions is perhaps the most valuable of all, even though it has received little or no mention in the public press.

Of course the national AFL and the national CIO have testified publicly that they oppose passage of the bill. This

should carry weight because both organizations are strongly anti-Communist and both are (now) actively working to contain and drive back the Stalinist infiltration of some of their unions. Both organizations object to the "guilt by association" features of the bill, to the excessive power given to the Attorney General, to the loosely worded definitions, to the driving of Communists even further underground than they are already.

Allan Swim, the new and vigorously anti-Stalinist editor of the CIO *News*, goes farther when he says, "Part of my opposition stems from my belief that you can't beat an idea to death with a club." Lewis Hines, legislative representative of the AFL, objects to "the entire principle of requiring registration as a condition to the exercise of civil liberties."

Even more interesting, however, than the testimony of these men at the top is that of the anti-Stalinist fighters who have been closer to the front lines, the men in the ranks. The *Labor Leader* expressed the opinion of some of these men when it said in a recent editorial: "The passage of the . . . Mundt-Nixon Bill would evoke the pleased reaction of millions of Americans that 'now the Communist problem has been settled once and for all'—actually nothing would be settled." It then pointed out that Congress could do far more to stop communism by upward revision of minimum wages and a good housing bill than by "any number of Mundt-Nixon Bills."

The *Labor Leader* is the national publication of the ACTU (Association of Catholic Trade Unionists). The ACTU probably knows more about fighting communism than any other organization in the country. Its leaders are not unanimous on this question. But most of them are opposed to the bill, and that is an important fact.

One of the things that impressed those in New York was the visit of a Catholic social worker from Brazil to ACTU headquarters. She told them of the effects of Dutra's outlawing the Communist Party in that country. She said that when the CP had been legal and functioning actively many Catholics, including Catholic employers, were alarmed about the terrible poverty of the workers and were beginning to take some action to correct it. But after Dutra banned the CP, nearly all these people sat back and relaxed. There was no longer any problem, no longer any danger, so why should they worry about the poverty of the workers. That was the reaction.

Swim's remark that "you can't beat an idea to death with a club" is very much to the point. Don't let anyone tell you that this bill doesn't endanger legitimate freedoms of thought and action, that it doesn't involve the coercion of free men. For example, according to this bill, any organization designated by the Attorney General as a "communist" or "communist front" organization would have to place on the outside of any wrapper or envelope in which it mailed its publication the words: "Disseminated by a communist organization."

In other words, those of us who read the *Daily Worker* and other Stalinist publications in order to keep ourselves informed of what the enemy is up to, would, if we received them at home, soon become known to our neighbors as Communist sympathizers. If this isn't coercion, and coercion of a peculiarly stupid kind, then the word has not been properly defined.

Some people believe that the Communists are themselves anxious to have the Mundt-Nixon Bill passed and that they are for that reason pursuing a kind of

nuisance rôle calculated to infuriate Congress into passing it. It could be true. Already the CP in America is about nine-tenths underground. To submerge the rest would involve very little trouble on their part. In return, they would be winning the martyr's halo and the conspirator's glamor, and at the same time handing Russia a billion dollars' worth of anti-US propaganda in the battle for Western Europe.

"You can't beat an idea to death with a club." Neither can you smother it with registrations, labels and other forms of petty persecution. When and if the Stalinists' conspiracy becomes a "clear and present danger" to our safety, then we should throw them in the hoosegow. Until then we cannot escape the unpleasant duty of meeting the challenge in the only way it can effectively be met—by "clear and present" argument and by cleaning up those messes upon which the virus feeds.

The fact that so many anti-Communist union leaders feel this way is both encouraging and significant.

JOHN C. CORT.

P.S.: Since writing the above I have read Christopher Emmet's article on "The Mundt-Nixon Bill" in *THE COMMONWEAL* of June 25. It seems to me that the argument hinges on Section 2 of the bill, which says that "the recent successes of communist methods in other countries . . . present a clear and present danger to the security of the United States."

This unfounded and unsupported assumption underlies the whole bill, Mr. Emmet's article and the support of other intelligent and honorable people. I can only repeat that the testimony, on this point, of anti-Communists in the labor movement, where Stalinism is most dangerous, should be given more weight by those who have so unnecessarily alarmed themselves and others.—J. C. C.

Books

Where I Was Born and Raised. David L. Cohn. Houghton. \$4.00.

THIS is an affectionate and in the main candid account of the ten Delta counties in Mississippi. Only a native son could have written it. Dialect is a delight if flawless, but the least lapse makes the whole a botch. There are no mistakes in Mr. Cohn's reproduction of the Delta dialect—social as well as linguistic—but, on the contrary, he moves with freedom, eloquence, and pathos in a totally familiar environment. Perhaps all nature is an effort at compensation. The compensations of Negro slavery and its consequences give rise to many of the incidents and reflections in Mr. Cohn's volume. There has been much kindness with the cruelty.

Part of this book was published in 1935, and is usefully reprinted here by way of contrast to the author's observations in a recent return to those scenes now rapidly altering because of mechanization of cotton culture and other influences. Mr. Cohn is emphatic in condemning the inferior educational and health facilities of the Delta, especially lacking where the Negro population—70 percent of the whole—is concerned. He is all for betterment of the Delta's standard of living. But for the Negroes this must be on "pragmatic" lines, "inch along like the po inch worm." On the necessity of maintaining segregation Mr. Cohn is adamant—"segregation must not be called into question." He quotes with approval the reser-

vations on this head of Mark Ethridge and Hodding Carter, and adds many of his own. For instance: "The progress of the Delta Negro since the turn of the century and the constant improvement of his position which, measured relatively, is astonishing, make it reasonable to believe that . . . almost all of the differences between the races—except only that of social segregation—may be gradually adjusted or removed through the exercise of patience, wisdom, and good will on both sides."

The concluding pages of Mr. Cohn's book, describing the changes in Delta culture through cotton picker, chopper, flame thrower for weed killing, and the substantial thinning of the Negro population through emigration, make this reviewer hope that the author will revisit Greenville when another decade has passed. The reforms in Delta society necessary to hold the Negro on the cotton lands and keep him from the cities in the South, or outside it, open the prospect of more progressive views on the part of Mr. Cohn. He may come to feel that segregation is the sum of discriminations, and that until segregation is no longer the preoccupation of the South, white and black, the "pragmatic" improvements talked of, where not physically blocked, are slow in coming. Mr. Cohn is scornful of the civil rights pronouncements of anybody as applying to his Delta, and will not think that wisdom, for his society, flows from the mouth of Mr. Justice Douglas when he says: "The sense of belonging is important to man. . . . He does not belong if he has a second-class citizenship. When he feels he does not belong, he is not eager to assume responsibilities of citizenship."

Hardly any dogma is worth the passion given to it, in support or attack, because society changes and new conditions bring unexpected solutions. If the Negroes of the Delta should some day be a minority of the population—and that is quite possible if present forces continue—the whole pattern of life for them will be different. Also—and this is something that Mr. Cohn does not sufficiently remark upon—it will be different for the rest of us in America because we will be less cursed with the Bilbos and the Rankins. If Mr. Cohn's Delta stayed within its own sultry confines it would be a region for appreciation or disapproval as moved one, but the weed seeds that spring and blow in those cotton rows root themselves in congressional committees, and legislators try to put over a new draft while keeping the old civil disabilities.

Mr. Cohn derides "the rose-and-lily-embroidered banner of absolute ethical standards." No part of America is free from offense against democracy, but our safe principle is that the whole is greater than the fraction, and in that belief we did not invent our constitutions idly. Maybe something of this notion would persuade Mr. Cohn that his Negroes are minstrel-show figures, dignified in spite of their drollery, but by no means men and women in the American sense while they purloin and placate with the same good conscience.

BROADUS MITCHELL.

Ashes and Fire. Jacob Pat. International Universities. \$3.25.

IN the deadly struggle of nations and ideologies which has scarred our times, the Jews have figured in more than a random engagement or incidental sortie. They have been, in a metaphysical sense, central to the clash, yet coldly isolated by their unique rôle as touchstone of this era's morality. It is the desperate and nightmare

isolation of their participation which creates the yearning in them for Palestine, for identity with a single soil, a single tradition, and a single fate.

Perhaps this is a long way round to the subject at hand. But in writing of Jacob Pat's poignant account of the monumental tragedy of Poland and the Polish Jews, I think it is essential to realize that "Ashes and Fire" acquires full meaning only in the context of what is going on at Lake Success and in the new State of Israel. Any straightforward recital of heroism, sacrifice, and death will stir the emotions—and Mr. Pat's simply-written book does that fully. But this story of Poland's Jews becomes unbearably tragic if it is forced to end on a note of transition and betrayal.

Whatever Mr. Pat's intent may have been in writing his book, and whatever his own views are in regard to the Zionist question, he has made this point again and again. His unpretentious recital of the mass executions, the geometrically plotted cruelties of the Nazi slaughter camps, the haphazard brutalities of Soviet refuge are all silent testimony. For no matter how long their tenure on Polish soil, the Jews knew that this land could no longer be theirs. They could lean on precious few in the cities they had inhabited for centuries. And they learned soon enough that to call on the humanity of the world meant only to get a busy signal. Man's conscience was elsewhere occupied.

If any group of people could take to itself Dante's blunt warning—"lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch'entrate"—it was the Jews returning to their gutted homes in Poland. For these people, try as they might to return to the old ways, the sandy stretches of Israel suddenly became the milk and honey of survival.

Jacob Pat, I am sure, merely sought to recount what he had seen, the sights and sounds, the conversations, the stories of the Nazi occupation, the large and small facts he encountered, to arouse the reader to the choking pathos of the war years and the little relief which the postwar brought. But his sleep-robbing anecdotes of families torn apart, of children facing mutilation and death with a resignation fused by the centuries, his almost casual revelation of the feelings and aspirations of the handful of Jews left today in eastern Europe are all eloquent explanation of why so many have fled across the iron borders of the Soviet sphere to wait stoically in DP camps and the British equivalent at Cyprus, gambling on a rebirth in Palestine.

"Ashes and Fire" is in effect a powerful sermon on what happened, what is happening, and what the Jews of Poland hope will happen. It will also tell you why these Jews are willing to face war in the Middle East, merely for the chance to sink new and hardy roots in Israel. This is quite an accomplishment for a little book. But "Ashes and Fire" is more than a book: it is a document for the archives of man.

RALPH DE TOLEDANO.

The Stilwell Papers. General Joseph W. Stilwell. Ed. and Arr. by Theodore H. White. Sloane. \$4.00.

THOUGH the war in the Far East was often overshadowed or even unnoticed because of the greater fascination of the European battles, there were certain figures and certain campaigns which commanded attention because of their doggedness or brilliance or drama or hideousness. MacArthur's fight was always good copy. The Navy campaigns always included the breath-taking additional excitement of the chase. But General Stil-

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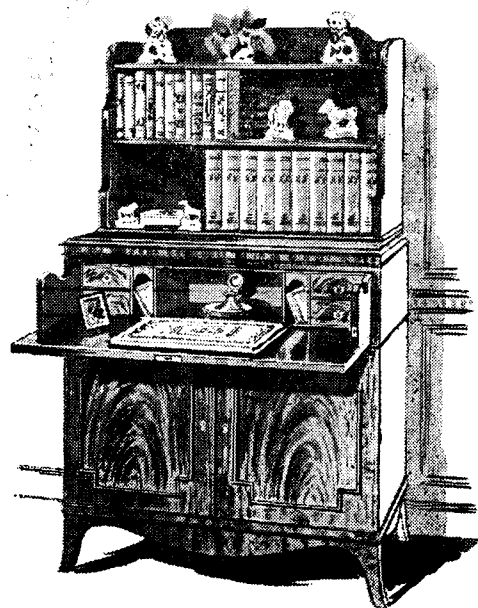
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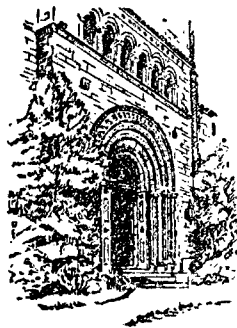
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well's long campaign, from the "hell of a beating" in Burma to his late recall from China, never received the press, criticism, evaluation, or praise it deserved. Very few Americans had any clear notion of the ramifications of Chinese politics and military operations. Fewer Americans had the necessary background and experience in Chinese affairs to make them judges of Stilwell's operations. In fact, these papers would seem to lead to the judgment that Stilwell, actually, even though the papers are his own, was the only American who had any penetrating understanding of what had to be done in China and Burma, both with the Japanese and with the Chinese.

This book is absorbing, colorful, biting, vitriolic, tender, philosophical, musing, harsh, jerky, fluent, stirring—all at the same time. Most of all, it is lively, as lively a record as Stilwell was himself a lively personality. It is made up of excerpts from his command journal, his own personal analyses in essay form, and his letters to Mrs. Stilwell, who, incidentally, provides a pungent foreword and afterword. The people who come off worst in Stilwell's judgment are Chiang Kai-shek, the British, and innumerable fumbling bureaucrats, Chinese, British, and American. Roosevelt is often hailed, just as often assailed. Mountbatten is considered most of the time as a glamor boy. Churchill comes out of this as the sage old trickster, who, with his cohorts, had FDR pretty well foxed. But Chiang became, ultimately, Stilwell's complete *bête noire*—a vain, pompous, selfish, stupid, conniving, cheating, irascible, fumbling, tyrannical, shortsighted, egotistical, dangerous nincompoop. Even Madame Chiang felt impelled, sometimes, to pound him into insensibility. The Communists were to Stilwell a well-organized and disciplined force that could have been used to great advantage against the common enemy. He constantly deplored Chiang's insistence that they surrender their autonomy completely, and submit to his own government. He blames Chiang and the British for the failure to realize a successful retaking of Burma, and continually points to the successful use of American-trained-and-led Chinese troops as evidence that vast Chinese armies could and should have been used offensively instead of piecemeal and inconsequentially as a result of Chiang's poor judgment.

It is hard not to be sympathetic with Stilwell's record. Here was a great general, a determined and positive man, stubborn, to be sure, but on the basis of historical fact, most of the time right. I think, though, that many readers will detect a mounting anger dictated more by personal antagonism than by fact, in some of his judgments. But we can well be thankful for this carefully edited book, for it gives us for the first time a fulsome report of the enormous tangle that was the CBI operations. And the reader's judgment will be, I think, entirely on Stilwell's side, with some sober reservations. In fact, I don't see why the book is presented as an apologia. I don't think the General has ever been considered, in America, as anything but a great and heroic figure, just as much for his honesty as for his military achievement. This book only confirms what many of us have always felt—the truly grand-scale hero is a human being, in defeat and victory.

T. E. CASSIDY.

Peony. Pearl S. Buck. John Day. \$3.00.

A STRAY tale of a Chinese bondmaid in the household of a wealthy Jewish family in China. Peony, the maid, in her lifelong love for her young Jewish master,

David, manipulates his choice of wife and in other ways influences the fortunes of the family. It is not until the Imperial Court, having seen Peony's beauty, threatens to take her from David, after his third son is born, that he realizes the depth of his love for her. Result is that Peony takes the veil in a Buddhist convent in order to save David's business interests at Court, and knowing that he, a Jew, will never be happy in his heart with a concubine. There is a continual conflict between Jewish and Chinese philosophy which haunts the decisions of the Jewish men.

ANN HUNTER.

The Invaders. Waldo Frank. Duell. \$2.75.

IN this book Waldo Frank has projected his characters into the future (to-morrow), to the time when the first atom bomb has fallen on New York. The destruction of the city is the casual incident which brings a first wife, Mara, and two children to Mark Ferry's house at Land's End. The bomb's fall also forces the arrival of Clare Locke, who was once in love with Bianca, Mark's present wife. And it sets in motion the conflicts, arguments and happenings which serve as the vehicles for Mr. Frank's earnest and cloudy dialectic about life and its evils.

Despite the pleas of Bianca, Mark must admit his hating, vengeful ex-wife because decency and goodwill require it. He must also invite Locke, the disfigured misanthrope, to stay merely because he came. He must do these things because he is a humanist who feels that the world's troubles arise from mutual suspicion and ill-will.

People must get along together, and he, himself, cannot give any grounds for suspicion or pain. "People are hurt, and in self defense hurt others. And these always in self defense hurt others: the endless bloody circle. Some one must jump out of it." Mark tries to jump.

Fortunately, Mr. Frank does not have every one holding hands and walking into the setting sun at the finish. No, there is an illegitimate (inevitable, too) piece of passion on the beach between the pretty, confused daughter, Beth, and plastic-faced Locke, a drowning of the same confused girl, a death of Mark's infant boy, a denunciation by the town elder, and a desertion by the wife, Bianca, so that despite Mark's admirable efforts, the circle of self-defense continues.

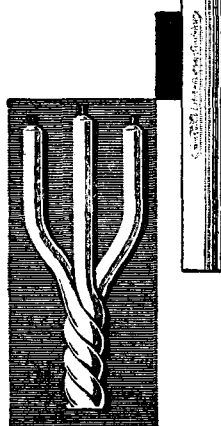
The obvious attempt at symbolism is difficult to explain because of the usual deficiencies in modern allegories: lifelessness of characters and vagueness of standards. In two places on the jacket the book is compared to a Greek tragedy. The inability of Mark Ferry to stop hurting people even though he tries hard is probably responsible for these descriptions, but the whole thing might easily have been a case of Robinson Jeffers re-visited.

GEORGE MILES.

Mademoiselle Lavallière. Edward F. Murphy. Doubleday. \$3.00.

IN his three most recent books Father Murphy has interested himself in the mighty theme of moral regeneration. The harlot turns saint in "The Scarlet Lily," the stiff-necked zealot turns humble "democrat" in "Père

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Antoine," and now the worldly actress turns penitent. Certainly the drama of penance is at the core of Catholicism; its attractions for the Catholic novelist are many, but so are the pitfalls. Maurice confesses in his "Thérèse" that he was unable to "see" the circumstances of Thérèse's return to grace. One is moved to hold that there are but two techniques for putting the thing over: either Mauriac's careful economy of scene and indirect reportage through letters and reminiscences, or Richardson's ampler method.

The author of "Mademoiselle Lavallière" (who would seem to have been reading his Bloy and Mauriac to some effect) manfully carries out his task. With remarkably little of the sentimentality that disfigured his incredibly poor "The Scarlet Lily," he shows Eve's grubby life in Toulon, her loss of faith, and her struggles in Paris before becoming the city's toast. Lavallière's hard, seemingly thankless return to the Church and her difficulties with her daughter, born out of wedlock, neglected, turned Lesbian, are depicted with fairly unsparing realism. Naturalism's straw, one is amused to note, is made into a brick to heave against it. Father Murphy betrays a lingering condescension to his form in the proud postscript note that this is the story, "true to the main facts," of the life of a "real actress."

RILEY HUGHES.

Kingship and the Gods. Henri Frankfort. Chicago. \$5.00.

ACCORDING to Dr. Frankfort of the Oriental Institute, modern thinking differs so profoundly from that of the ancients, that in studying the institution of kingship we must take into consideration those primitive mental conceptions which, by a "mystic participation," merge distinctions and blend the parts into a greater whole.

Therefore the author favors a phenomenological treatment, a "systematic discussion of what appears," and presents the traditions of both Egypt and Mesopotamia as concretely as possible. The central problem is investigated by converging upon it from many different directions, for the many-sidedness of ancient conceptions should not be mistaken for "confusion" or "syncretism." Dr. Frankfort believes that emphasis on generic factors, that were supposed to have worked universally, and the use of such facile formulas as "Divine King," "local god," etc., merely obscure realities.

In the hundreds of pages of text that follow, the reader will find a fully documented description, rich in quotations from original sources, of the political forms, beliefs, ceremonies and the actual functioning of Egyptian and Mesopotamian society. If anything, the author delineates specific differences rather than similarities in these civilizations which he relates to the natural environment and finds expressed in art.

Although some of Dr. Frankfort's theoretical assumptions may be challenged, there is little doubt but that "Kingship and the Gods" is a fine contribution to our historical-sociological literature. Yet the average reader, who has no special interest in the ancient Near East, will probably find himself lost in a bewildering mass of details. It is not an easy book.

THEODORE M. AVERY, JR.

Two Years With the Chinese Communists. Claire and William Band. Yale. \$4.50.

IN SPITE of a truly unique opportunity, the authors of this book have failed to fully realize their advan-

tage. In 1941 Mr. Band, a British physicist, was teaching at Yenching University in China. On December 8, he and his wife escaped into the hills near Peiping only a few minutes before the Japanese occupied the university grounds. For the next two years they traveled with the Communist guerrillas in north China, living with the peasants and soldiers and teaching in the guerrilla schools. Early in 1944 they made their way into Nationalist China, to Chungking, and after a year there returned to England.

On the basis of these experiences, and in the light of present events, one would expect a thorough analysis of all the shades of political and social thought in China with which they came in contact. But of such an analysis the Bands offer precious little. In only two chapters of twenty do they really discuss the matter. And one of these has to do with the Communists in only a comparative sense, since it is concerned with Nationalist Chungking. The other, too, falls short since it deals with the Yen-an school of thought, and overlooks completely the offshoots which grew up in north-eastern China.

"Two Years" does, however, have one asset. The Bands strive valiantly, and in a "Highways and Byways of Old Cathay" manner succeed in presenting a great deal of colorful background to the lives of the Communist guerrillas. For those who like their reading in a semi-diary, travelog manner it will prove quite interesting. But for the serious reader who hopes to gain some insight into Communist thought in China, "Two Years" will likely prove a disappointment.

JAMES O. FREDERICK.

Cape Breton, Isle of Romance. Arthur Walworth. Longmans. \$3.50.

The Highland Heart in Nova Scotia. Neil MacNeil. Scribners. \$2.75.

THE first of these is written from outside, the second really from within. Mr. Walworth recounts, simply, directly and with a few apposite quotes from Doctor Johnson, a brief motor trip through one of the most scenic, unspoiled and socially pioneering sections of our entire continent. His pleasant volume includes a number of good halftones and a lot of useful travel data. Mr. MacNeil, of the *New York Times*, tells the story of his boyhood in the depths of rural Cape Breton and thereby produces a paean to a spartan simple way of life which will never return. He throws in a plentitude of good yarns about especially individualistic local characters. And, no doubt, by focusing on the people of this comparatively remote region, which appears so idyllic during its short summer, Mr. MacNeil arouses a keener appetite for a first or return visit than would be possible for the author of the most expert travel book.

CONTRIBUTORS

Raymond J. POLTRONIERI is a graduate of CCNY, School of Business; served as a radio operator with the 83rd Division during the war, and is at present in the insurance business. G. S. HARRISON is probably the greatest living authority on Shakespeare.

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